97-84022-10

U.S. Dept. of the Interior

America, Americanism, Americanization

Washington

1919

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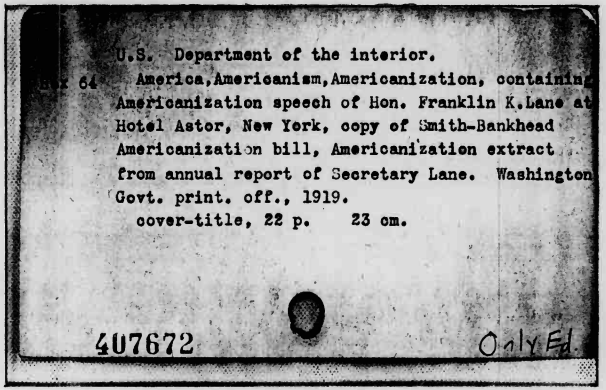
U.S. Department of the interior.
America,Americanism,Americanization, containing
Americanization speech of Hon. Franklin K.Lane at
Hotel Astor, New York, copy of Smith-Bankhead
Americanization bill, Americanization extract
from annual report of Secretary Lane. Washington
Govt. print. off., 1919.
cover-title, 22 p. 23 cm.
407672
Only Ed.

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TECHNICAL MICROFORM DATA

FILM SIZE: 35 mm REDUCTION RATIO: 11:1 IMAGE PLACEMENT: IA (IIA) IB IIB

DATE FILMED: 2-11-97 INITIALS: PB

TRACKING # : 21533

FILMED BY PRESERVATION RESOURCES, BETHLEHEM, PA.

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DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

America
Americanism
Americanization

CONTAINING

AMERICANIZATION SPEECH OF HON. FRANKLIN K. LANE AT HOTEL ASTOR, NEW YORK

COPY OF SMITH-BANKHEAD AMERICANIZATION BILL

AMERICANIZATION EXTRACT FROM ANNUAL REPORT OF SECRETARY LANE

WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1919

SPEECH DELIVERED AT HOTEL ASTOR, NEW YORK, BY FRANKLIN K. LANE, SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR.

I should take it that this gathering, representing so many sections of the country and so many of its elements, is itself a community council. If we could have such meetings in all our cities and in all quarters of our cities the matter of Americanization would soon cease to concern us.

To meet men from Armenia and Italy, from Greece, and from Persia, from Russia, and from all the nations of Europe, to the very edge of the Atlantic—to look into their eyes, to learn their conception of America, to hear what they believe America offers them, to help them to an understanding of our ideals, our traditions, our opportunities—this is the very first step in weaving them into our flag—the very first step in the process of Americanization.

This is an especially appropriate time to meet, because to-night I can announce to the country that whatever previous differences have existed between the Federal departments in their relations to the foreign born are now composed and the larger problems of the melting pot, in so far as they lead up to the moment when an alien has determined to become a citizen and has declared himself of that mind, unquestionably and very properly rest with the Department of the Interior upon which Congress long since conferred the responsibility of supervising public instruction through the Federal Bureau of Education.

But there is another reason that makes this an auspicious moment to prepare for a more intensive campaign against insulating and disorganizing influences in the Republic. The people of the United States have been engaged for two years and more in a task that has given them a new sense of glory—a sense of glory arising out of the consciousness that they were useful to America—and it has not been limited to the boys in khaki across seas. Those who are here represent that spirit—the artisans, the merchants, the manufacturers, the women—all have sacrificed as one, have wrought with heart and hand and purse that they might make the name of America immortal—by making America a synonym for liberty and generosity and knightliness.

It has never seemed to me that it was difficult to define Americanization or Americanism: "I appreciate something, I admire some-

thing, I love something. I want you, my friends, my neighbors, to appreciate and admire and love that thing too. That something is America."

The process is not one of science; the process is one of humanity. But just as there is no way by which the breath of life can be put into a man's body, once it has gone out, so there is no manner by which, with all our wills, we can make an American out of a man who is not inspired by our ideals and there is no way by which we can make anyone feel that it is a blessed and splendid thing to be an American, unless we are ourselves aglow with the sacred fire, unless we interpret Americanism by our kindness, our courage, our generosity, our fairness.

We have made stintless sacrifices during this war; sacrifices of money and blood sacrifices; sacrifices in our industries; secrifices of time and effort and preferment and prejudice. Much of that sacrifice shall be found vain if we do not prepare to draw to ourselves those later comers who are at once our opportunity and our responsibility, and such responsibilities invoke and fortify the noblest qualities of national character.

There is in every one of us, however educated and polished, a secret, selfish, arrogant ego, and there is in every one of us also a real nobility. In this war I could see that there came out immediately the finer man, and that better self we must keep alive.

We expect that man to search out his immigrant neighbor and say, "I am your friend. Be mine as well. Let me share in the wisdom and instruct me in the arts and crafts you have brought from other lands and I shall help you succeed here."

There is no difficulty in this, if our attitude is right. Americanism is entirely an attitude of mind; it is the way we look at things that makes us Americans.

What is America? There is a physical America and there is a spiritual America. And they are so interwoven that you can not tell where the one ends and the other begins.

Some time ago I met a man who is one of the advisors of the President of China and he told me of a novel suggestion which he thought might be adopted in that new Republic—that they should have a qualifying examination for members of Congress; that every man who announced himself as a candidate should prove that he knew what his country was, who its people were, what resources it had, what its prospects were, and what its relations with foreign countries had been.

If I could have my way I would say to the man in New York, "Come with me and I will show you America," and I would say to the man in San Francisco, "Come with me and I will show you America."

I would give to the man whom I wished to Americanize (after he had learned the language of this land) a knowledge of the physical America, so as to get an admiration, not only of its strength, of its resources, of what it could do against the world, but that he might have pride in this as a land of hope and a land in which men had won out. I would take him across the continent. I would show him the 8,000,000 farms which went to feed Europe in her hour of need. I would take him out into Utah and show him that mountain of copper they are tearing down at the rate of 38,000 tons per day. I would take him to the highest dam in the world, in Idaho. And I would let him see the water come tumbling down and being transformed into power, and that power being used to pump water again that spread over the fields and made great gardens out of what 10 years ago was the driest of deserts.

I would take this man down South and I would show him some of its schools. I would take him up North and I would show him the cut-over lands of Wisconsin and Michigan, which are waste and idle. I would take him into New York and show him the slums and the tenements. I would show him the kind of sanitation that exists in some of our cities. I would show him the good and the bad. I would show him the struggle that we are making to improve the bad conditions. I would tell him not that America is perfect, that America is a finished country, but I would say to him, "America is an unfinished land. Its possibilities shall never end, and your chance here and the chances of your children shall always be in ratio to your zeal and ambition."

America, we dare believe, will ever remain unfinished

No one can say when we shall have reclaimed all our lands or found all our minerals or made all our people as happy as they might be. But out of our beneficent, political institutions, out of the warmth of our hearts, out of our yearning for higher intellectual accomplishment, there shall be ample space and means for the fulfillment of dreams, for further growth, for constant improvement. That is our ambition.

I would have that man see America from the reindeer ranches of Alaska to the Everglades of Florida. I would make him realize that we have within our soil every raw product essential to the conduct of any industry. I would take him 3,000 miles from New York (where stands the greatest university in the world) to the second greatest university, where 70 years ago there was nothing but a deer pasture. I would try to show to him the great things that have been accomplished by the United States—250,000 miles of railroad, 240,000 schools, colleges, water powers, mines, furnaces, factories, the industrial life of America, the club life of America, the sports of America, the baseball game in all its glory.

And I would give to that man a knowledge of America that would make him ask the question, "How did this come to be?" And then he would discover that there was something more to our country than its material strength.

It has a history. It has a tradition. I would take that man to Plymouth Rock and I would ask, "What does that Rock say to you?" I would take him down on the James River, to its ruined church and I would ask, "What does that little church say to you?" And I would take him to Valley Forge and point out the huts in which Washington's men lived, 3,000 of them, struggling for the independence of our country. And I would ask, "What do they mean to you?" What caused them, what induced those colonists to suffer as they did—willingly?"

And then I would take him to the field of Gettysburg and lead him to the spot where Lincoln delivered his immortal address and I would ask him, "What does that speech mean to you? Not how beautiful it is! But, what word does it speak to your heart? How much of it do you believe?"

And then I would take him to Santiago de Cuba and I would ask, "What does that bay mean to you?"

And I would take him over to the Philippines where 10,000 native teachers every day teach 800,000 native children the English language. And I would bring him back from the Philippines to the Hawaiian Islands.

In Honolulu I had a procession of school children pass before me and present me with flags of their countries. There were represented every race, from New Zealand clear along the whole western side of the Pacific. They laid at my feet 26 flags.

I went from there to Mauna Loa, to a school, a typical school, in which there were Philippinos, Javanese, Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, Samoans, Australians, Americans, Koreans; and I said to the pupils, "Can anyone tell me why we are at war?" A little girl, 13 years old, half Chinese and half Hawaiian, rose and said, "I think I can, sir." We were up on the side of the mountain, looking out over the Pacific and the only communication with the civilized world was across that ocean. "We are in this war," the child said, "because we want to keep the seas free; because we want to help those who need help." And I have yet to hear a better answer given.

And I would show the man how these children, whether Japanese or American, no matter what their source, stood every morning before the American flag and raised their little hands and pledged themselves to one language, one country, and one God.

And then I would bring him back to this country and say, "Grasp the meaning of what I have shown you and you will know then what

Americanism is. It is not 110,000,000 people alone; it is 110,000,000 people who have lived through struggle, and who have arrived through struggle, who have won through work. Let us never forget that!" There is a sentimentality which would make it appear that in some millenial day man will not work. If some such calamity ever blights us, then man will fail and fall back. God is wise. His first and His greatest gift to man was the obligation cast upon him to labor. When he was driven out of the Garden of Eden, it was the finest, the most helpful thing that could have happened to the race.

Because when man passed that gate he met a world in chaos; a world that challenged his every resource; a world that, alike, beckoned him on and sought to daunt him; a world that said, "If you will think, if you will plan, if you can persist, then I will yield to you. If you are without fiber, if you are content with your ignorance, if you surrender to fear, if you succumb to doubt—I shall overwhelm you."

The march of civilization is the epic of man as a workingman and that is the reason why labor must be held high always.

We have nothing precious that does not represent struggle. We have nothing of lasting value that does not represent determination. We have nothing admirable which does not represent self-sacrifice. We have no philosophy except the philosophy of confidence, of optimism and faith in the righteousness of the contest we make against nature.

We are to conquer this land in that spirit and in our spirit we are to conquer other lands because our spirit is one that like a living flame, goes abroad.

And, again, it is like some blessed wind—some soft, sweet wind that carries a benison across the Pacific and the Atlantic. And we must keep alive in ourselves the thought that this spirit is Americanism—that it is robust and dauntless and kindly and hearty and fertile and irresistible and through it men win out against all adversity. That is what has made us great.

It is sympathetic. It is compelling. It is revealing. It is just. The one peculiar quality in our institutions is, that not alone in our hearts, but out of our hearts, has grown a means by which man can acquire justice for himself.

That is the reason, my Russian friend, my Armenian friend, why this is a haven to you. Bring your music, bring your art, bring all your soulfulness, your ancient experience to the melting pot and let it enrich our mettle. We welcome every spiritual influence, every cultural urge, and in turn we want you to love America as we love it, because it is holy ground—because it serves the world.

Our boys went across the water—never let us hesitate to speak their glorious names in pride—our boys went across the water, because they were filled with the spirit that has made America; a spirit that meets challenge; a spirit that wants to help. Combine these two qualities and you have the essence of Americanism—a spirit symbolized by the Washington Monument; that clean, straight arm lifted to heaven in eternal pledge that our land shall always be independent and free. To-night in Paris the President of this country, called by duty—your President and my President, out of his knowledge of what war can do, out of a sense of its futility, out of a sense of its barbarity, is working that a better day may be brought about. He has invoked the genius of Europe to devise with him the machinery by which this curse may at least be minimized.

If you will visualize Woodrow Wilson at the council table, striving for the happiness of mankind, together with the boy in khaki whose sense of loyalty carried him into the Argonne Forest there to perish for the might of right, you have a picture of the spirit of that Americanism which is worthy of the tradition and living hope of our country.

How best may we spread that spirit through the land—how best can we explain our purposes and interpret our systems?

Through the community council, through the school I am making an appeal to Congress on behalf of an appropriation which will permit us to deliver from bondage thousands, tens of thousands, millions of children and men and women in these United States—to liberate them from the blinders of ignorance, that all the wealth and beauties of literature and the knowledge that comes through the printed word can be revealed to them.

Congress will be asked to help all States willing to cooperate in banishing illiteracy.

And I want you to help. We want to interpret America in terms of fair play; in terms of the square deal. We want in the end to interpret America in healthier babies that have enough milk to drink. We want to interpret America in boys and girls and men and women that can read and write. We want to interpret America in better housing conditions and decent wages, in hours that will allow a father to know his own family. That is Americanization in the concrete—reduced to practical terms. This is the spirit of the Declaration of Independence put into terms that are social and economic, and I ask you to help us.

AMERICANIZATION EXTRACT FROM REPORT OF SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR.

I wish now to turn to the consideration of that other phase of Americanization to which I earlier referred—the need for a larger sense of our responsibility as Americans, both in view of the greater part which this Nation is destined to play in the world's affairs and in view of our manifest obligations at home; and to urge that we make a fresh and strong demand upon the schools of the country to meet the needs of the day that has come, to give inspiration to a wider Americanism and capacity for it.

America threw the world into a daring maze of possibilities by its entrance into this war upon lines more idealistic than any other national venture in history. And in doing this we challenged the world to a contest for supremacy, not upon the field of battle but in the much larger field of intellectual, moral, and social leadership. Whether we can make good before the world depends upon our willingness and our ability to see the problems that we must meet and our will to meet them forehandedly. For clearly our right to world leadership in the new day is not to be measured by the number of men who have gone to France or the things they have done, but by the use we now and from this time forward make of the freedom we have secured for ourselves and others.

The world has taken us at our word. We said that the institutions which we enjoyed were those which the world should enjoy, for they were based upon rights inherent in man. We announced ourselves as coming to the rescue of imperiled democracies, and as the war progressed we came to the point where we would discuss peace only with those whose government, like our own, came from the people. Beaten upon land and frustrated upon sea, those sole surviving autocracies with which we fought broke into fragments before the mandate of an idea, and the map of Europe changed more in a few days than it had changed in centuries. The aggregating process which had gone on throughout many hundreds of years, and which had been deemed essential to national self-protection, was not only stayed but set at naught, and nations fell into pieces like a child's picture puzzle, to be replaced in the general picture along lines of racial desire and a common culture. This is

an unprecedented thing in history. Enemy nations came to an "about face," professing themselves converts to the new faith, willing pupils in a new school. Thus out of an international struggle which we entered upon unwillingly we find ourselves emerging with a greater burden of national responsibility and a larger sense of the meaning of America—America as a leader in a world of democracies, if not a world democracy.

NEW RESPONSIBILITIES.

What change in national policies is involved in this world change? Who are these reborn racial groups who now come forward to their places at the family table? What is our duty toward them and upon what are they to live? What economic independence is essential to national existence? To what extent are we trustees for other peoples? What national purposes have we that should be made secure by international pact or union? Such questions go deep into problems to which even the ripest statesmen have in the past given little thought. And how much less the great body of the people! Yet now it is the duty of the American citizen to know of these things; to talk of them, as a process of whipping his own chaotic notions into shape; to project himself into a world where all horizons are new. While yet we may hardly be said to have learned to think nationally, we are compelled to give serious concern to the affairs of people of whom we had not heard four years ago. Most removed and isolated of all nations, living on and to ourselves, America has overnight moved into the center of the world's stage and become subject to every scrutinizing and critical eye. This is a test for all that we have of dignity and wisdom.

A wholesale challenge has been given as the result of our own idealism—how now may we meet it? Clearly we must set about making ourselves adequate to think in the larger terms of this greater life. Yet we must hold fast to that which makes possible any such broad conception—the ability of men and women to live together under the proved form of our own Government. To think in terms of many democracies or of mankind, we must work in terms of America. For all thought of making good in a greater sphere must be checked, qualified, and limited by our capacity to prove ourselves first of all strong and capable and purposeful at home. Our international value depends upon our national strength, unity, and vision. And this in turn must in a democracy rest upon the intelligence, the capabilities, and the character of the individuals who make the Nation.

Now, the question that we must put to ourselves is: Are we doing all that can be done to develop these?

Our war experience has taught us, among many things, the value of a strong national spirit, the vital importance of national ideals, the impotence of ignorance, the dependence of this modern world upon skilled men and organizing ability, the need for and the possibilities that lie in the extension of cooperative effort of all kinds. Are we making full use of the facilities that we have for the promotion of these ends? Are we making out of America as a growing crop all that might reasonably be expected or that is demanded by our position in the world?

AMERICA IN 1918.

The vitality of this question was put strongly to the Nation during the past year in a form that was not altogether agreeable. For the draft revealed the astonishing percentage of those in this country who were unable to speak our language or to read or write any language. Yet, I take it, there is no one thing so supremely essential in a government such as ours, where decisions of such importance must be made by public opinion, as that every man and woman and child shall know one tongue—that each may speak to every other and that all shall be informed.

There can be neither national unity in ideals or in purpose unless there is some common method of communication through which may be conveyed the thought of the Nation. All Americans must be taught to read and write and *think* in one language; this is a primary condition to that growth which all nations expect of us, and which we demand of ourselves.

What should be said of a world-leading democracy wherein 10 per cent of the adult population can not read the laws which they are presumed to know?

What should be said of a democracy which sends an army to preach democracy wherein there was drafted out of the first 2,000,000 men a total of 200,000 men who could not read their orders or understand them when delivered, or read the letters sent them from home?

What should be said of a democracy which calls upon its citizens to consider the wisdom of forming a league of nations, of passing judgment upon a code which will insure the freedom of the seas, or of sacrificing the daily stint of wheat or meat for the benefit of the Roumanians or the Jugo-Slavs when 18 per cent of the coming citizens of that democracy do not go to school?

What should be said of a democracy in which one of its sovereign States expends a grand total of $6 per year per child for sustaining its public-school system?

What should be said of a democracy which is challenged by the world to prove the superiority of its system of government over

those discarded, and yet is compelled to reach many millions of its people through papers printed in some foreign language?

What should be said of a democracy which expends in a year twice as much for chewing gum as for schoolbooks, more for automobiles than for all primary and secondary education, and in which the average teacher's salary is less than that of the average day laborer?

What should be said of a democracy which permits tens of thousands of its native-born children to be taught American history in a foreign language—the Declaration of Independence and Lincoln's Gettysburg speech in German and other tongues?

What should be said of a democracy which permits men and women to work in masses where they seldom or never hear a word of English spoken?

Yet, this is all true of the United States of America in this year of grace 1918, wherein was fought the second Battle of the Marne and the Battle of the Argonne Forest.

These figures and facts look discouraging. They seem to present a picture that bodes ill for the Republic. But in reality they present an outlook that is far from disturbing, and that is the one cheering thing about such a Government as ours, wherein we can do as we will. And our will to do is never wanting when we see clearly the difficulty and know the way out. Already there have been devised methods by which these conditions may be remedied in large part, and these methods have been worked out practically by experiment and in no little detail.

A NATIONAL CONCERN.

If once we realize that education is not solely a State matter but a national concern, the way is open. And what argument that could be advanced would be more persuasive that education deserves and must have the consideration of the Central Government than the figures that are given?

If men can not be converted readily into soldiers but must be held in camp while they receive a primary education, surely no one can hold that this is a matter deserving of merely State attention. The Nation's life may not have been imperiled by the presence in the Army of a considerable percentage of men who could not be equipped for service promptly, but this is the minor part of the reason why this humiliating condition should not obtain in this country. The greater reason is that we can not govern ourselves while in ignorance. We can not have a small portion of our population unable to sense the movement of our times save through the gossip of the corner and altogether unable to check the idle rumor and the slogans of demagogues, without putting at hazard the success of our system of

government. And if we lag others will lead. The American must be the exemplar of democracy.

We are training boys and men to be farmers out of Federal funds, preparing to advance vocational education on a large scale, promoting the construction of solid highways within the States as part of an interstate system, subjecting the packer, the canner, and the banker to Federal supervision; surely without violation of our fundamental law we can find a way by which the Nation can know that all of its people are able to talk and read our own language. I do not suggest Federal control, but I would strongly urge Federal cooperation with the States toward definite ends.

A little money, the cooperation of the States, and of the industries of the country—and both can be had—a little money, perhaps as much in a year as we have gloriously spent in five hours in France, and the work could be done. It could be done without coercion, without trenching on the prerogatives of the State in the slightest. If we could offer help to those willing to accept it the end would be accomplished. Make the same kind of an offer to the States for the education of their illiterates that we make to them for the construction of roads, and in five years there would be few, if any, who could not read and write in this country. It may be worth while to consider some of the groups that, taken together, constitute the problem.

NATIVE-BORN WHITES.

Adult illiteracy in the less-developed sections of our country is not a proud matter of which to talk, but it is present. Men who speak in the language of Shakespeare—and this is literally true, for their ancestors came here in his time bringing the language of Shakespeare and the King James version of the Bible on their tongues—tens of thousands of these men and women are to-day, after three centuries in this country, unable to read one line of Shakespeare or to sign their names. And yet they have fought for this country through every war and have died as heroes for a land that did not concern itself enough about them to see that they were educated. Those people have not had their chance. Their condition is a reproach to a republic. And it is not that they are unwilling to take instruction, or that they feel superior to it. For the experiment has been made; and, day after day, old, gray-bearded men and eager-eyed women went to the mountain schools when given the opportunity, and their letters tell of the delight that is theirs because the world has been opened to them.

And the children of these American-born people of Anglo-Saxon stock—what of them? Are they to be left to burrow their way through the darkness—one out of a thousand, perhaps, emerging to the opportunities of a railroad brakeman or a skilled mechanic after

a splendid struggle against the handicap of early ignorance? These boys are expected to vote, and to vote wisely for those who shape not only the destinies of their own land, but, as we now see, for those who are to mold the lives of many peoples. Are they to vote without knowing that such new nations exist—without the ability to read the names on a map or the text of a treaty? This would seem to be challenging too strongly the protecting hand of a patient Providence.

THE NEGRO.

Then, we must consider the Negro. For him and his condition we are responsible as for no one else. He came here without exercising his own will. He was made a citizen without discrimination and in a large out-of-hand way. The Indian we feel we are responsible for as a Nation, and we give him an education—a most practical one. But the Negro, who is a charge upon the American conscience and whose education, I believe, should long ago, in some part, at least, have been a charge upon the American pocket, is slowly, very slowly, coming into that knowledge which is his one chance of developing into a growing national asset—the knowledge of the way of making a living. When one looks into the effort that is being made to give the Negro the right sort of an education, he finds a much more cheerful picture than he had thought. The Southern States, for instance, are meeting with no little eagerness the offers that come to them to give some direction to the education of the Negro. The problem is basically one of money. The way has been found to give our colored citizen an education that will strengthen his fiber, widen his vision, and at the same time make him happy in achieving a useful place in society. There are no more inspiring and promising reports written in this country than those of the various foundations which are promoting the right method of educating the Negro. Not only is the response from the States encouraging, but experience has gone far enough forward by this time to demonstrate that with guidance, oversight, and the bearing of only a part of the financial burden, this whole problem of lifting a backward people onto a level more compatible with our hopes for them and with their status as citizens can be realized. Still, this Nation may learn what education will do for an undeveloped race by the study of its own work in the far-off Philippine Islands.

THE FOREIGN BORN.

The next grand division of those who need education, inspiration, and outlook, and for whom we are responsible, is the foreign born. Our responsibility arises out of our generosity. These sons and daughters of all the world have been drawn here by the generosity of

our laws; the open hand has been extended across the seas. We have said to them that coming clean they would be welcome. This was the land of their heart's desire, where men could be their own masters and rise according to the quality that they had. Here was youth with which they could identify themselves, land which they could own, society of which they could become an integral part, political life which they could help to shape and in which they would have satisfied that world-long yearning for recognition. The man could here be developed, the full man, for schools were here and a sympathetic environment; others were climbing, too, with whom they could measure their progress. This was a fair picture surely. And they came, some for economic reasons, desiring their chance at the good things spread on this rich table that Columbus found. Others came that they might have the larger satisfactions of an independent, unhampered, unmastered growth as men among equals. They came in no apologetic humor, for they brought something from the older lands which they felt would be a contribution to a new civiliziation—their art, literature, their far-reaching historical perspective, their fervor for the opportunity to experiment, to adventure, to give a cast to this new world's life.

Here was an opportunity. We met them at the gate with a truly American welcome, which most of them could not understand: "Enter and make a place for yourself." This had been the greeting we ourselves had received. There was to be no coddling here. This was a man's land, a place of test. The art that was most needed was the art of getting on. If literature and science and experiment were to come they must be founded upon the solid rock of a self-sustained, unpatronized people. Dreams of ease and long debate must be cast aside until the right to dream was earned. The American was to be a journeyman, doing his bit at the making of the land. If this was not a worth-while job, then there was no place for the stranger. We had mines to dig, wells to drill, buildings to erect, railroads to construct, farms to plow, sewers to lay, machines to build, and when one had done his share of these there might come the singing. The Lord had laid on us the responsibility of reclaiming for mankind a large slice of this lost land, and all else could wait in life till this end was reached. In this steady drive we made ourselves. We were impatient with those who called out to stop or go slow. The pace that we set was that which must be kept. "All men are born free and equal," we called to the newcomer, and went on, forgetful that he was not free, for he had still the limitations of his old life, nor equal, for many reasons. Manifestly a man without tools is not the equal of the man with, and those here already were men who knew the language of the new land, who knew its spirit and the way to meet it

and run with it, who had access to the heart of a people and knew what its call was. Things did not lie obvious before the eye like a seam of coal on a naked hillside. This new land was a hunting ground, and those who knew the favorite cover and could blend most quietly into the landscape found themselves best at the game.

THE NEWCOMER'S DILEMMA.

So this is America! A scramble for a living! Much to see, but no one to interpret it all. So thought this new American. Then the padrone came forward as a savior. Life was not to go out anyway. And, with others in like situation, possibly from his own country, equally ignorant, equally handicapped, the new American starts his life. It takes a brave and a very ambitious man to lift himself out of such an environment. Easily he becomes a victim to the shrewd, predatory padrone or boss. He falls into debt and becomes mortgaged to ignorance and squalor for years. His ideal of America has suffered a change. "And is this freedom?" he says to himself, as with tired back he bends to his work, without hope that the burden will be lighter to-morrow. He can not read the signs which warn him of danger. He can not read of the opportunities which city and country offer. In his own land perhaps he had no chance to learn in his own tongue. In this new land he is too tired, too hesitant to learn this strange, difficult tongue. Is it any wonder if to this dissatisfied stranger the voice of one who speaks to him in the language of home has authority and carries far? And if this voice preaches discontent, and violent discontent, as the one sure path to better days, is it strange that he should listen? Who are the men who master this new world? Plainly the ones he knows, from whom he has suffered. Do these same men control everything; are there no sweet places of refuge? He can find no one to make him see the greater America. The whole of this continent is to him the cramped apartment, the dirty street, and the sweatshop or the factory. To the sweep of the great land and its many beckonings his eyes are closed. And in his isolation and ignorance and disappointment there is a fruitful nesting place for all the hurtful microbes that attack society.

REASONS FOR AMERICANIZATION.

This man is our charge. He needs and deserves care, solicitude, thoughtful consideration. Ignobly put—it will pay. More manfully said—it is our duty. Worthily—it is our opportunity.

Economically that man is a potential asset which we should not waste. Give him a glimpse into the philosophy which underlies our struggle and he will turn into a cheerful, strong fellow worker in the making of America, as have all the rest who have preceded him. It is

money in our pockets that he should be able to care for himself; that he should know our language; that his body shall be well nourished and his mind hopeful. So much for the purely selfish side.

As to our duty, it grows out of our loyalty to ourselves, *noblesse oblige*. But we may look beyond these and find a finer reason for doing all in our power to reveal America to this man. He is a human being whom we can help to a truer view of that which we have said before the world was the most stimulating, invigorating, developing of all atmospheres, that of freedom. And the test of our democracy is in our ability to absorb that man and incorporate him into the body of our life as an American. He will learn to play the game, to stand to the challenge that makes Americans; the unfostered, self-sufficiency of the man who knows his way and has learned it by fighting for it will yet be his. And we will learn from him the viewpoint of those peoples who now are wrestling with all their new-found strength and weakness to realize long-nurtured hopes. If we are to deal wisely in this larger day we must get within that man and look out with his eyes not only upon this country but upon the land from which he came, for has not America become as a foster mother to these strugglers?

METHODS.

First of all, the hand of friendship for that new American, the voice of a friend who shall be an unselfish adviser, a guide in this strange land of troubles, small and large, but equally incomprehensible. Then the school, the night school, or if not that, the shop school. And with these the community center, the gathering place that represents all America.

This is a program that has been well thought out. It has been tried out in a small way and found successful. It needs but nurturing to develop into a plan that will make the word "Americanization" one of exceptional pride. For this plan the great cities of the country, where mostly our foreign born have congregated, are ready. For it the industries, the business men, are ready. I am warranted in the statement that all the largest industries in the land will from their own time offer an opportunity for an elementary education to every foreign-born man or woman in their employ. Some are willing to furnish the teacher if one competent for this class of work can be found. If the Government will shape the policy and undertake to make the propaganda for this definite end of giving a first insight into American words, newspapers, politics, life, that which has been regarded as the work of generations can be started in a very short time and men put on their way toward real citizenship.

I am not urging the absurdity that men can be transformed into Americans by a course in school. This is but a beginning. Knowl-

edge of our language is but a tool. America is the expression of a spirit, an attitude toward men and material things, an outlook, and a faith. Our strange and successful experiment in the art of making a new people is the result of contact, not of caste, of living together, working together for a living, each one interpreting for himself and for his neighbors his conception of what kind of social being man should be, what his sympathies, standards, and ambitions should be.

Now, this can not be taught out of a book. It is a matter of touch, of feeling, like the growth of friendship. Each man is approachable in a different way, appealed to by very contradictory things. One man reaches America through a baseball game, another through a church, a saloon, a political meeting, a woman, a labor union, a picture gallery, or something new to eat. The difficulty is in finding the meeting place where there is no fear, no favor, no ulterior motives, and, above all, no soul-insulting patronage of poor by rich, of black by white, of younger by elder, of foreign born by native born, of the unco' bad by the unco' good. To meet this need the schoolhouse has been turned into a community center. It is a common property, or should be. All feel entitled to its use. When we were younger this kind of machinery was not necessary, for we were fewer in number, lived in smaller communities, and felt a common interdependence which made each one a trumpet-blowing herald of democracy. To day, however, there must be some thought given and some money expended in even having an opportunity to touch the hand of a fellow man.

I believe that more and more thought will be given to our school system as the most serviceable instrumentality we possess for the development of a better America. It has been, we must confess, a very much taken-for-granted institution. It is probably of all our inventions the one of which we are most proud, and like other of our inventions we have not realized the greatness of its possibilities. We have become accustomed to hearing it spoken of as the heart of the Nation. But this figure must be taken with very definite limitations. It is the beginning of things for the boys and girls, but to the man and the woman it is almost a thing outside of life. This should not be so, for it may be the very center of the social, the intellectual, and in smaller places of the economic life. This is so, in fact, in Switzerland and in Denmark, and is becoming so in many places in our country.

To the necessity for more thorough education of the people all countries have become keenly alive. One large part of England's grand plan of reconstruction is the founding and conducting of a great national school system out of which will come more men and women of trained minds and trained hands.

As we move further and further from the war we will discover much that we do not now see. But this one thing stands out more plainly than ever before, that this world is to belong to the workers those who do and those who direct the doing. Not merely to those who drive the nail or lay the brick, but also to those who have come to a higher capacity through education and larger experience, the men of scientific knowledge, of skill in the arts, of large organizing capacity. Ease, sheltered repose, will come only to those who themselves have earned it. This is the inevitable tendency of democracy.

This thought is not new to America, it is American, for here we have climbed the rough road of experience together, each jostling the other and pushing the weak ones aside. To the swift and to the strong there will always come the premiums, but to the cunning and to the greedy there will be given less and less of opportunity.

The test is to be in peace as it was in the time of war. Are you fitted for the fight? The man who knew how knowledge could be converted into power was the man for whom there was unlimited call. So it is increasingly to be. To be useful is to be the test that society will put. Each man's rights are to be measured not by what he has but by what he does with what he has. The honors—the *croix de paix*—the richest rewards will go to the capables, those who are not standardized into "men machines," those who dare to venture and learn to lead. But all must work, and this duty to work and respect for work should be the earliest lesson learned. And it should be taught in the school, not as a homily but in a living way, by tieing work with instruction, making the thing learned to apply to something done. I should like to see the day when every child learned a trade while at school, trained his mind and his hand together, lifted labor into art by the application of thought.

To be useful is the essence of Americanism, and against the undeveloped resource, whether it be land or man, the spirit of this country makes protest.

Respectfully, yours,

FRANKLIN K. LANE,
Secretary.

The PRESIDENT.

A BILL to promote the education of native illiterates, of persons unable to understand and use the English language and of other resident persons of foreign birth; to provide for cooperation with the States in the education of such persons in the English language, the fundamental principles of government and citizenship, the elements of knowledge pertaining to self-support and home making, and in such other work as will assist in preparing such illiterates and foreign-born persons for successful living and intelligent American citizenship.

Secretary of Interior to cooperate with the States in education of native illiterates and persons of foreign birth unable to understand and use the English language.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Interior, through the Bureau of Education, and in cooperation with any other Federal agencies which may be able through their existing organizations to furnish assistance therein, is hereby authorized and directed to cooperate with the several States in the education of illiterates, of persons unable to understand, speak, read, or write the English language, and of other resident persons of foreign birth, and in the training and preparation of teachers, supervisors, and directors for such educational work.

Appropriation authorized for cooperation with States and payment of salaries of teachers, supervisors, and directors.

SEC. 2. That for the purpose of cooperating with the several States in paying the salaries of teachers, supervisors, and directors of the educational work herein, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated for the use of the several States, and subject to the provisions of this act, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, the sum of $5,000,000; for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920, and annually thereafter until the end of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1926, the sum of $12,500,000.

Appropriation authorized for training teachers, supervisors, and directors.

SEC. 3. That for the purpose of cooperating with the several States in preparing teachers, supervisors, and directors for educational work under this act, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated for the use of the several States, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, the sum of $250,000; for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920, and annually thereafter until the end of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1926, the sum of $750,000 annually.

State to receive benefit of appropriation only when it appropriates a like amount and when it makes provision for education of illiterate minors.

SEC. 4. That any State may secure the benefits of this act by acceptance of its provisions and by the designation of an appropriate official to act as custodian of moneys allotted and by authorizing its department of education or chief school officer to cooperate with the United States in the educational work herein authorized, and after June 30, 1919, the appropriation herein made shall be available only in the event that each State or municipal corporation thereof, acting through or in conjunction with the State, shall appropriate, make available, and use for such educational work, an amount equal to that allotted by the United States: *Provided*, That no State shall be entitled to participate in the benefits of this act until it shall by appropriate legislation require the instruction for not less than 200 hours per annum of all illiterate minors or minors unable to speak, read, or write the English language, more than 16 years of age, at schools, or places, or by other methods of elementary instruction, until such minors have completed a course in English generally equivalent to that supplied by third-grade schools: *Provided further*, That no money authorized to be appropriated by the preceding sections of this act, or appropriated by any of the States to carry out its provisions, shall be authorized to be used for any other purpose than for the salaries of teachers, supervisors, or directors of education, or for the preparation and training of such teachers.

State to receive benefit of appropriation only when it appropriates a like amount and when it makes provision for education of illiterate minors.

Apportionment to be based on ratio of illiterates and non-English-speaking persons in the State to the total number in the United States.

SEC. 5. That the sums herein authorized to be appropriated shall be apportioned to the several States annually in the proportion which the total number of resident illiterate persons, 10 years of age and over, and of persons 10 years of age and over unable to speak the English language, in that State, bears to the total number of illiterate resident persons 10 years of age and over, and of persons 10 years of age and over unable to speak the English language, in the United States exclusive of the District of Columbia, according to the last published preceding United States census.

State required to submit to Secretary for his approval plans and descriptions of education.

SEC. 6. That in order to secure the benefits of this act, each State, acting through its proper board or officer, shall submit to the Secretary of the Interior for his approval plans showing the manner in which it is proposed that the appropriation shall be used, including the kind of instruction and equipment to be provided, courses of study, methods of instruction, qualifications of teachers, supervisors, and directors, and the kind of schools in which and the conditions under which training of teachers, supervisors, and directors is to be given.

Duty of Secretary to ascertain whether the States are using or are prepared to use the money allotted. Payment by the Secretary of Treasury to the States entitled.

SEC. 7. That it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Interior to ascertain whether the several States are using or are prepared to use the money allotted to them under this act, and on or before the 10th day of August in each year he shall certify to the Secretary of the Treasury those States which have accepted the provisions of the act and complied therewith, specifying the amounts of money which each State is entitled to receive under the provisions of this act. Upon such certification the Secretary of the Treasury shall pay to the States entitled thereto the moneys available under this act, payments to be made quarterly on the 15th day of August, November, February, and May of each year.

Secretary of Treasury to withhold allotments where States fail to comply with terms of the act.

SEC. 8. That it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to withhold the allotment of moneys to any State whenever it shall be determined by the Secretary of the Interior that moneys previously allotted have not been expended for the purposes and under the conditions of this act, or that other terms and conditions of this act have not been complied with.

Moneys lost or diverted to be replaced by State.

SEC. 9. That if any portion of the moneys received by any State under the provisions of this act shall be diminished, lost, or expended for purposes other than those authorized and contemplated herein, such moneys shall be replaced by the State and until so replaced no subsequent appropriation for such educational work shall be made to that State. That whenever any portion of the fund allotted to any State has not been expended within the year for the purpose provided in this act, a sum equal to the unexpended portion shall be withheld by the Secretary of the Treasury from the next succeeding annual allotment under this act to such State.

Appropriation for administrative purposes and for studies, reports, and co-

SEC. 10. That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of $250,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, and annually thereafter until the end of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1926, the sum of $1,000,000 for the purpose of administering,

operative work by Department of Interior.

carrying out, and enforcing the provisions of this act, for cooperative work hereunder, for investigations, studies, and reports through the Bureau of Education, for salaries of officers and assistants, other office and incidental expenses, including the cost of printing, personal services in the District of Columbia and elsewhere, necessary traveling expenses of employees, stationery, office furniture and equipment, and any other expenses necessary in the administration of this act.

No moneys to be used for purchase or repair of buildings, of lands, or for support of religious or privately owned schools.

SEC. 11. That except as provided in section 10 hereof no moneys appropriated under this act shall be applied directly or indirectly to the purchase, erection, preservation, or repair of any building or buildings or equipment, or for the purchase or rental of lands, or for the support of any religious or privately owned and conducted school or institution.

Secretary of Interior to make annual report to Congress.

SEC. 12. The Secretary of the Interior shall make an annual report to Congress on or before December 1 of each year of all operations, expenditures, and allotments under the provisions of this act, including statement as to what has been done by the several States thereunder.

Secretary authorized to make rules and regulations.

SEC. 13. That the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to perform any and all acts and make all rules and regulations which he shall deem necessary and proper to carry this act into full force and effect.

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END OF
TITLE